

unwise, or which they have inherited as a birthright."

We have heard a great deal also about the natural inferiority of this race. On this point I beg leave to quote the words of Jefferson again:

"The opinion that they are inferior," says he, "in the faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion, requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical glasses, to analysis by fire or solvents. How much more, then, where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent bid defiance to calculation; let me add, too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, when our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them."—*Jefferson's Works*, vol. 8, p. 386.

Again he says in alluding to the same subject years afterwards:

"But whatever may be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not, therefore, lord of the person or property of others. On this subject they are gaining daily in the opinions of nations, and hopeful advances are making towards their re-establishment on an equal footing with the other colors of the human race. I pray you, therefore to accept my thanks for the many instances you have enabled me to observe of respectable intelligence in that race of men, which cannot fail to have effect in hastening the day of their relief."—*Jefferson's Works*, vol. 5, p. 429.

Much has also been said in reference to the evils that followed emancipation in the West India Islands. Mr. Cochin, a French writer of great eminence, and who had studied this subject very thoroughly—a man, too, of fortune and without any political ambition, impartial, in his work on the Results of Emancipation, and for which the French Academy awarded the first prize of three thousand francs, says—(quoting from Lord Stanley, Secretary of the Colonies:)

"Upon the whole, the result of the great experiment of emancipation, attempted upon the collective population of the West Indies, has surpassed the most lively hopes of even the warmest friends of colonial prosperity. Not only has the material prosperity of each of the islands greatly increased, but what is still better, there has been progress in industrious habits, improvement in the social and religious system, and development among individuals of those qualities of the heart and mind, which are more necessary to happiness than the material objects of life. The negroes

are happy and satisfied. They give themselves to labor. They have ameliorated their manner of living, and increased their comfort, and while crimes have diminished, moral habits have been better. The number of marriages has increased, and, under the influence of the ministers of religion, instruction has been diffused. Such are the results of emancipation; its success has been complete, as to the principal end of the measure."

"The salient facts which appear from all inquiries are these: complete tranquillity, no vengeance, no tumult, no incendiarism, no civil war, a prodigious number of marriages, schools and churches filled to overflowing. Lastly, a growing love of prosperity."—*Cochin on Results of Emancipation*, pp. 333, 334.

In reference to the French Colonies, the author says, page 304:

"But after all, under this climate which enervates the whites, after essaying all the races, one after another, to replace the negro race, we are forced to return again to the latter. We find none more vigorous or submissive, more capable of devotion, more accessible to Christianity, more happy to escape its native degradation. This race of men, like all their human species, is divided into two classes—the diligent and the idle. Freedom has nothing to do with the second, whilst it draws from the labor of the first a better yield than servitude."

The same is the testimony in reference to the Swedish, Dutch, and other Colonies.

I therefore place these authorities in opposition to those cited by the gentleman on the other side.

But, Mr. President, these negroes have acquired additional claims to freedom, in that they have enlisted under the old flag, the banner of freedom, and have fought with a will and determination unsurpassed to preserve the very government which Southern masters have been fighting to destroy. You can never reduce to bondage again men who have thus shown themselves so worthy of freedom. They have followed this flag even at the cost of much physical sacrifice and suffering. But the instinct of freedom has been so strong as to cause them to risk all and endure all in prospect of this priceless boon. Their watchword now, as they rush to the deadly assault, is "Fort Pillow," and when once fully aroused, they can scarcely be restrained. Nor is this any new development, for in the days of the revolution, and subsequently, they fought side by side with the bravest white soldiers at Bunker Hill, and at New Orleans, with General Jackson.

But I sustain this article the more cheerfully because I believe emancipation is the only true road to peace. If a truce was declared to-morrow, the moral sense of the North would never enforce a fugitive slave law again. Nor would the case be bettered,